595 /170 cont./ 2. Little betel is chewed by the generation that is now thirty-five to forty years of age or younger.

[178 276]

Nor does he ever name the kampong where the other wife lives as his destination when he leaves. To speak the truth would be an unforgivable rudeness. But a man who, in the opinion of his first wife, already was too much away from home was told: "When a man goes out a great deal, a wife is lazy with the cooking."

/171/ Co-wives display a stronger than normal desire to attach their husbands to themselves, in comparison with [593] monogamously married women. They make sure that the meal is ready when he comes home, that a clean sarong lies in readiness for him, and that his guests are especially well [574] entertained, since a man finds it pleasant if he is known as a good host. On the other hand, they know how to make their anger apparent to him by the same means, by letting him wait for his food, by neglecting to care for his clothes, and so forth. Among older men it can be observed that they stay for a longer time with the same wife. In the majority of cases this appears to be the first wife.

The second wife is always lower than the first; at least she is regarded as lower. This circumstance makes it easier for the first wife to be content with her existence. The great dread of a woman who was not related to her husband appeared to be the fact that now she would become the second wife because he married one of his nieces. As regards descent, however, she was regarded as his equal, and there was in every respect an acceptable reason why his niece should not be regarded as his equal.

595 606 ●607 The opposition of the first wife is not the only reason why a second marriage comes about only with difficulty. Another reason is based upon the opposition of the relatives.

595 606 ●607 /171 cont./ The latter feel responsible for the successful course of affairs in his first marriage, and accordingly they have an attitude of disapproval toward a second marriage, since a [981] lasting monogamous marriage is, after all, regarded as one of the ideals of a successful marriage. When a second marriage has come about through silariang, they show their disapproval and frequently support the first wife. They yield only if the man appears to have enough authority to prepare and to carry [554] out his second marriage independently with his "own people." That is to say, he has a house built for his second wife, or else he buys one; and secondly, he is able to organize a wedding festival on his own, even if it is a small feast. If a man enjoys that much standing and if he possesses that much organizational talent, then his relatives are not merely content [557] with this second marriage. On the contrary, then they even prize him because the festive celebration of a second marriage is a sign of his personal standing by which his kinsmen also rise in standing. /172/

In such a case, therefore, the first spouse can expect little support from his relatives, and only consolation from her own closest kinsmen. The latter merely try to minimize the importance of this event, which is sad for her personally, and to make her accept it as well as possible. There is no question of any moral disapproval of the man's action. Such is the situation in the adat community of Borongloë.

565 595 In the karaëng related group, more second marriages are contracted, especially with women of lower blood. These men have less resistance to overcome. In the kampongs of the ordinary man everyone wages his struggle to gain more standing, and thus for a good marriage for his children. In general, common people do not like to have a girl marry a man who is already married. But if the difference in blood is generally recognized, as it is between a karaëng and a girl [557] from one of the many groups of relatives of the people, then the latter do not feel such a marriage as a subordination, because in such a situation the girl and her relatives even rise in standing.

554 /213 cont./ On this occasion there is always a superior,
588 functionary or someone of higher blood present, because only
627 then does an inferior control his siri' /214/ feelings. It would
684 be a great discourtesy to act according to one's own opinions against the wishes of a superior and on top of that in the superior's presence. In a conflict of impulses to kill or not to kill, the presence of the superior makes not killing acceptable.

A superior, however, cannot without further ado impose his will upon inferiors. More clearly than elsewhere there appear here the limits of power that a superior has over an inferior. Coercion on the part of the superior to bring about a reconciliation has as a consequence not only the fact that no reconciliation is brought about, but it even intensifies existing difficulties. Below, we shall see examples of this.

588 After reconciliation there is no more question of siri';
●607 relationships are again normal. But during the entire period,
684 from the moment of the flight to the reconciliation, the relationships between the fleers, tumannjala ("people who have made a mistake"), and the wife's male kinsmen, the tumasiri' ("people who are siri'"), is bound to various rules. In practice there are many generally accepted ways of meeting the difficulties that have arisen through these siri' feelings, which will be described below. One repeatedly comes upon situations, or hears opinions defended by those involved, which are comprehensible only on the basis of ideas concerning challenging and killing. This does not mean that each silariang marriage is intended in the first place as a challenge, but it is regarded as such. Subsequent conduct is in accordance with it.

627 A man who has been made siri' by a violation of sexual
684 prohibitions is therefore expected to kill the one who has transgressed. But it is not a matter of indifference how this killing takes place. By preference, it must be done in a manner worthy of a man, that is to say, by a stab with a knife (badi') in the open.